

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6699

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 4148

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PORG, UNSC, SF

SUBJECT: WESTERN FIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH AFRICANS ON DRAFT  
RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA OCTOBER 27.

SUMMARY: WESTERN FIVE DISTRIBUTED AGREED TEXT OF WESTERN  
DRAFT RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA (SEE PARA 8) TO KEY AFRICANS  
AND SC PRESIDENT EVENING OCTOBER 27. FIVE EMPHASIZED UNPRECEDENTED  
STEP DRAFT REPRESENTED FOR FIVE AND EMPHASIZED THAT DRAFT  
CONSTITUTED, AFTER DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS, FIVE'S "BOTTOM  
LINE". AFRICANS PREDICTABLY WERE DISSATISFIED WITH  
LIMITED NATURE OF ECONOMIC PARA 5, WITH THE TIME LIMIT  
CONTAINED IN PARA 10, AND WITH THE FIVE'S FAILURE TO  
DEAL WITH THEIR OWN FOUR DRAFT RESOLUTIONS. AFRICAS SAID  
THEY WOULD CONTACT FIVE WHEN THEY HAD AGREED ON A FORMAL  
RESPONSE. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING FRENCH AGREEMENT TO JOIN WESTERN FIVE  
CONSENSUS (BUT PERHAPS NOT AS COSPONSOR) ON DRAFT RESOLU-  
TION ON SOUTH AFRICA, WESTERN FIVE PERMREPS PRESENTED  
DRAFT OCTOBER 27 TO PERMREPS OF TUNISIA (AFRICAN GROUP  
CHAIRMAN), LIBYA, MAURITIUS, BENIN AND INDIA (SC PRESIDENT).

2. ACTING AS CHAIRMAN OF THE FIVE, FRG (VON WECHMAR) OUTLINED  
THE POSITION OF THE FIVE, AND SAID THAT FIVE WERE NOW

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PREPARED TO TAKE STEP THEY HAD NEVER TAKEN BEFORE --  
A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO UNDER CHAPTER 7. HE NOTED  
SUBSTANTIAL DIFFICULTIES FIVE HAD ENCOUNTERED IN  
HAMMERING OUT AGREED POSITION. HE SAID THAT DRAFT  
REPRESENTED FIVE'S "BOTTOM LINE", I.E., FIVE COULD NOT  
ACCEPT SUBSTANTIVE ADDITIONS. THEY COULD NOT, FOR EXAMPLE,  
AGREE TO ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. US (YOUNG) ADDED THAT DRAFT REPRESENTED  
FIVE'S VIEW OF WHAT COULD HELP MOVE SAG IN POSITIVE DIRECTIONS  
RIGHT NOW. A BATTLE IN THE SC BETWEEN FIVE AND AFRICANS

WOULD ONLY MAKE SC COOPERATION ON EFFECTIVE MEASURES FOR CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA MORE DIFFICULT.

3. MAURITIUS (RAMPHUL) ASKED IF PARA 8 WAS MEANT TO COVER EXISTING LICENSES AND CONTRATS. UK (RICHARD) ANSWERED THAT PARA 8 MEANT IMMEDIATE AND COMPLETE ARMS EMBARGO, EVEN TO INCLUDE REVOCATION OF EXISTING LICENSES, IF ANY. FRG AGREED. FRANCE (LEPRETTE) SAID FRANCE NOT YET PREPARED TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION.

4. AFRICAN PERMREPS THEN POSED NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ON AND PROBLEMS WITH SIX MONTH TIME LIMIT CONCEPT IN PARA 10. VON WECHMAR COUNTERED THAT PERIODIC RENEWAL CONCEPT WAS IN AFRICANS FAVOR, SINCE IT MEANT MATTER WOULD BE KEPT UNDER CONSTANT REVIEW. YOUNG ADDED THAT PROVISION COULD ACT AS ENFORCEMENT MECHANISM, MAKING THE MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AN ACTIVE PROCESS. THE POSSIBILITY OF NON-RENEWAL INHERENT IN PARA 10, HE CONTINUED, PROVIDED AN INCENTIVE AND AN AVENUE FOR SAG IMPROVEMENTS. USG ALSO DID NOT WISH, YOUNG SAID, TO IN EFFECT LOSE CONTROL OF THE ARMS EMBARGO PROCESS TO SOVIET AND CHINESE VETOS -- A DANGER WHICH WOULD EXIST WITHOUT PARA 10.

5. LIBYA (KIKHIA) SAID THAT ALL AFRICAN STATES HAD  
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INSTRUCTIONS TO INSIST ON A VOTE ON THE FOUR AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS. WHY WERE THERE NO WESTERN COMMENTS TO THE AFRICAN DRAFTS? WAS WESTERN DRAFT MEANT TO BE A SUBSTITUTE? RICHARD REPLIED THAT WESTERN DRAFT INDEED WAS MEANT TO SUBSTITUTE FOR OTHERS. AFRICANS HAD PRESSED WEST FOR MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AND FIVE HAD RESPONDED AS FAR AS THEY COULD GO. YOUNG AND LEPRETTE EMPHASIZED THAT FIVE HAD USED AFRICAN VIEWS AS A STARTING POINT AND HAD INCORPORATED SOME OF TE LANGUAGE FROM THE AFRICAN DRAFTS. WESTERN DRAFT WAS NOT AN ATTEMPT TO DO SOMTHING NEW. YOUNG EMPHASIZED THAT THE PURPOSE OF SC ACTION WAS TO SEND A MESSAGE TO SAG. A CONSENSUS SC MESSAGE WOULD HAVE FAR MORE POWER THAN THE RESULTS OF AN INCONCLUSIVE DEBATE. THE KEY WAS THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME ALL OF SOUTH AFRICA'S MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS WERE LINED UP AGAINST HER.

6. AFRICANS COMPLAINED THAT PARA 5 ON ECONOMIC MATTERS LACKED TEETH. RICHARD STATED UK COULD NOT AGREE AT THIS TIME TO ANY LANGUAGE CALLING FOR A CESSATION OR LESSENING OF TRADE. BUT THINGS THAT LOOKED DIFFICULT NOW COULD BECOME EASIER WITH TIME. CANADA (BARTON) AND YOUNG DESCRIBED SCOPE OF REVIEW OF ECONOMIC POLICIES TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA THEIR GOVERNMENTS WERE UNDERTAKING. YOUNG ADDED THAT USG WAS CONSIDERING BILATERAL ECONOMIC MEASURES BUT

COULD NOT NOW AGREE TO STIFFENING LANGUAGE OF PARA 5.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 4148

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7. AFRICANS SAID THEY HAD TO CONSULT IN NEW YORK AND IN  
AFRICAN CAPITALS BEFORE THEY COULD MAKE FORMAL RESPONSE.  
THEY WOULD TELL FIVE WHEN THEY WERE READY.

8. TEXT OF DRAFT RESOLUTION DISTRIBUTED BY WESTERN FIVE  
FOLLOWS: QUOTE

DRAFT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 392 (1976) STRONGLY CONDEMNING  
THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FOR ITS RESORT TO MASSIVE VIOLENCE  
AGAINST AND KILLINGS OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE, INCLUDING SCHOOL  
CHILDREN AND STUDENTS AND OTHERS OPPOSING RACIAL DISCRIMINA-  
TION, AND CALLING UPON THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA  
URGENTLY TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST THE AFRICAN PEOPLE AND  
TAKE URGENT STEPS TO ELIMINATE APARTHEID AND RACIAL  
DISCRIMINATION,

NOTING WITH DEEP ANXIETY THE SEVERE ACTS OF REPRESSION  
PERPETRATED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA ON 19 OCTOBER  
1977 IN BANNING INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS AND IN DETAIN-  
ING LARGE NUMBERS OF PERSONS WITHOUT TRIAL IN DISREGARD OF  
THEIR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS,

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GRAVELY CONCERNED BY THE EFFECTS THAT SUCH SERIOUS  
INFRINGEMENTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WILL PROVOKE IN THE AREA,

CONVINCED THAT THIS SITUATION HAS BEEN PRIMARILY  
BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE CONTINUING IMPOSITION OF THE SYSTEM

OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING AN ARMS EMBARGO  
AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA,

1. STRONGLY CONDEMNS THE RECENT ACTIONS OF THE SOUTH  
AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN BANNING NUMEROUS ORGANIZATIONS AND  
DETAINING LARGE NUMBERS OF ITS PEOPLE IN DISREGARD OF THEIR  
FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS;
  2. EXPRESSES ITS SUPPORT FOR, AND SOLIDARITY WITH, ALL  
THOSE STRUGGLING FOR THE ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND RACIAL  
DISCRIMINATION AND ALL VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION IN  
SOUTH AFRICA;
  3. EXPRESSES PROFOUND CONCERN OVER THE CONTINUING  
SERIES OF DEATHS OF PERSONS IN DETENTION IN SOUTH AFRICA;
  4. CALLS UPON SOUTH AFRICA TO TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO:  
(A) RELEASE ALL PERSONS WHO ARE IMPRISONED,  
DETAINED OR UNDER OTHER FORMS OF RESTRICTION  
BECAUSE OF THEIR OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID;  
(B) ABROGATE THE BANS ON ORGANIZATIONS AND NEWS  
MEDIA OPPOSED TO APARTHEID;  
(C) CONDUCT FULL AND OPEN JUDICIAL INQUIRIES  
INTO THE RECENT DEATHS OF PERSONS IN DETENTION,  
AND IN PARTICULAR AN INQUEST INTO THE DEATH OF  
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- STEVE BIKO, AND ENSURE THAT THE FAMILY MEMBERS  
OF SUCH PERSONS OR THEIR REPRESENTATIVES CAN  
FULLY PARTICIPATE IN ALL STAGES OF THESE PROCEEDINGS;
5. CALLS UPON ALL STATES TO REVIEW THEIR ECONOMIC  
RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA;
  6. FURTHER CALLS UPON ALL STATES TO ESTABLISH CODES  
OF CONDUCT FOR COMPANIES DOING BUSINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA  
THAT WOULD ABOLISH DISCRIMINATION, INSTITUTE WAGE EQUALITY  
AND STIMULATE NON-DISCRIMINATORY TRADE UNION ACTIVITY;
  7. DETERMINES THAT THE ACQUISITION BY SOUTH AFRICA  
OF ARMS AND RELATED MATERIAL IN THE CURRENT SITUATION  
CONSTITUTES A THREAT TO THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL  
PEACE AND SECURITY;
  8. DIRECTS ALL STATES TO CEASE ANY PROVISION OF ARMS  
TO SOUTH AFRICA, INCLUDING THE SALE AND TRANSFER OF ARMS,  
AMMUNITION OF ALL TYPES, MILITARY VEHICLES, AND EQUIPMENT  
AND MATERIEL FOR THE MANUFACTURE AND MAINTENANCE OF ARMS  
AND AMMUNITION; PARAMILITARY POLICE EQUIPMENT; AND SPARE

PARTS FOR THE AFOREMENTIONED;

9. CALLS UPON ALL STATES NOT MEMBERS OF THE UNITED  
NATIONS TO ACT STRICTLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS  
OF THIS RESOLUTION;

10. DECIDES THAT THE DETERMINATION CONTAINED IN  
PARAGRAPH 7 OF THIS RESOLUTION SHALL REMAIN IN EFFECT FOR  
A PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS AND MAY BE RENEWED;

11. FURTHER DECIDES TO REMAIN SEIZED OF THE QUESTION.

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## Message Attributes

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